



ASEASUK NEWS

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STUDIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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Subscribers outside the UK must send their sterling cheques drawn on a UK bank as Aseasuk will otherwise be liable for bank charges (£6). Cheques should be made out to ASEASUK, c/o Dr Justin Watkins, Centre of South East Asian Studies, Faculty of Language and Culture, SOAS, Thornhaugh St/Russell Sq, London WC1H 0X

NEWS

UK Southeast Asianists

Dr Matthew Cohen (Royal Holloway) has recently completed a book for Palgrave Macmillan titled *Performing Otherness: Java and Bali on International Stages, 1905-1952*, which is due out late 2010. He was at the University of Tampere, Finland, in October 2009 where he spoke on 'Glocalizing wayang: Javanese shadow puppet theatre in Indonesia, Malaysia, the United States and elsewhere' at the International Conference of Stage Animation. On 18 March 2010 he gave a public lecture to the Anglo-Indonesian Society on 'Wayang kulit: traditional and post-traditional shadow puppet theatre' at the Indonesian Embassy, London. Last year in October and November, Matthew also performed as a dhalang at Cambridge University's Festival of Ideas (with the Cambridge University gamelan group) and at the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester (with the Southbank Gamelan Players).

Dr Katherine Brickell (Royal Holloway) has been awarded a British Academy Small Research Grant of £7,500 for a project titled 'Cooking up Change? Housekeeping Competitions as Gendered Development: Interventions in Vietnam'. She is organising the first ever housekeeping competition in Vietnam which will involve men as participants. The event is to be held in June 2010 in collaboration with the Vietnam Women's Union. Katherine is currently in Laos until June 2010 conducting her ASEASUK-funded project titled 'Gender, Labour and Domestic Life in Luang Prabang'.

Professor Roy Ellen (University of Kent) was in Maluku, Indonesia in August 2009 for fieldwork on Seram and Kei Kecil on the

sociocultural concomitants of cassava diversity in relation to environmental security. Roy's collaborative research with Dr Hermien Soselisa of Pattimura University, Ambon, is funded by the British Academy/ASEASUK Research Committee.

Dr Lee Jones (Queen Mary, University of London) is currently completing a book on ASEAN, social conflict and intervention in Southeast Asia. He will soon start work on two new projects. The first is a joint project on 'Securitisation and the Governance of Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific' with Dr Shahar Hameiri of Murdoch University, Australia. The second is a major project on the ways in which international economic sanctions work (or do not work) to effect regime change. Lee presented the following two papers recently: 'ASEAN's security role and its future: the case for modesty', at the International Expert Workshop on ASEAN, Asia-Pacific Multilateralism and the Evolving Regional Security Architecture, Singapore, 15-16 October 2009, and 'The domestic roots of security policy in Southeast Asia', International Studies Association annual conference, New Orleans, 17-20 February 2010.

Following Michael Hitchcock's move to Lucerne, **Dr Annabel Gallop (British Library)** has replaced Mike as co-director of the BIAA-ASEASUK research project 'Islam, Trade and Politics across the Indian Ocean'. She is also currently working on a joint British Library-British Museum photographic exhibition, 'Lasting Impressions: Seals from the Islamic World', which will travel to libraries in Liverpool, Leicester, Sheffield, London and Cambridge later this year.

Professor Duncan McCargo (University of Leeds) was working on the politics of justice in Thailand at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, Italy, from 22 March to 19 April 2010.

This was after he'd spent July-August 2009 in Betong, Yala, Southern Thailand, conducting fieldwork on justice by attending court cases and interviewing people with firsthand knowledge of the legal system in the southern border provinces. This fieldwork was funded by the ASEASUK Research Committee. Duncan has also published op-ed pieces in *The Independent* (February 2010) and the *Guardian Weekly* (December 2009); the second of these was also published in more than a dozen other papers worldwide. He delivered eight conference papers from March 2009 to March 2010: 'Kru-Ze and Tak Bai 2004: "Security blunders" or simple atrocities in Southern Thailand?' Insurgencies, Counterinsurgency and Atrocities Workshop, Graduate School in Arts and Humanities, University of Reading, 20 March 2010; 'Thailand's electioneering: electoral professional parties vs hybridised clientelism', Workshop on Democratisation and New Forms of Voter Mobilisation in Southeast Asia, IDEAS, London School of Economics, 12 February 2010; 'Patani militant leaflets and the uses of history', Invited speaker for 'The Phantasm in Southern Thailand: Historical Writings on Patani and the Islamic World', organised by Walailak University and Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 11-12 December 2009; 'Kit nai sing thi mai at kit dai: "autonomy" nai phuen thi phak tai khong thai [Thinking the unthinkable? Autonomy for Southern Thailand]', Keynote address, 10th National Conference on Political Science and Public Administration, Prince of Songkhla University International Convention Center, Hat Yai, Thailand (audience of 1600), 1 December 2009; 'Thai citizens but not Thai people: the Malay Muslim quandary', Invited speaker, International Symposium on Ethnic Minorities in Asia: Subjects or Citizens? Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 25-26 June 2009; 'How far is Thai Buddhism an asset for the building of democracy?' Invited speaker, Conference on Religion, Power and Societies in Southeast Asia:

The Democratization Test, Asia Centre, Sciences Po, Paris, 12 June 2009; 'The world of Thai judges: some preliminary thoughts', Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Chicago, USA, 26-29 March 2009, and 'Southern Thailand as a political problem', Invited speaker, 'Southern Thailand: Anatomy of an Insurgency', ISEAS, Singapore, 10-11 March 2009. Duncan also presented 20 seminar papers between February 2009 and March 2010 on the following topics: 'The Khmer Rouge Tribunal: some preliminary reflections', Asian Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, 4 March 2010, Asia Center, Harvard University, 26 February 2010, and GSID, Nagoya University, Japan, 17 November 2009 'Tearing apart the land: Islam and legitimacy in Southern Thailand', Center for the Study of Asia, Boston University, 26 February 2010, George Washington University and Asia Society, Washington DC, 23 February 2010; 'Tearing apart the land: the political basis of Thailand's Southern conflict', Ritsumeikan University, Japan, 18 November 2009, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, 18 November 2009; 'Making sense of the Southern Thai conflict', CUSEAF, King's College, University of Cambridge, 15 October 2009; 'Thailand's turbulent politics since the 2006 coup', City University of Hong Kong, 7 September 2009, LKY School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, 24 June 2009, and GIGA, Hamburg, 13 May 2009; 'The problem of conflict in Southern Thailand and ways of addressing the issue' (in Thai), Thailand Research Fund Forum, Bangkok, 20 August 2009; 'Thai perspectives on terrorism and counter-terrorism', Universiti Utara Malaysia, 4 August 2009; 'Tearing apart the land: understanding Thailand's southern conflict', Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 3 April 2009, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Ohio University, 1 April 2009, Northern Illinois University, 30 March 2009; and 'Autonomy for Southern

Thailand: thinking the unthinkable?' IAPS, University of Nottingham, 26 February 2009.

Professor V.T. King (University of Leeds) is collaborating with **Professors Mike Parnwell (Leeds)** and **Mike Hitchcock (IMI, Switzerland)**, and **Dr Janet Cochrane (Leeds Metropolitan University)** on the British Academy-ASEASUK Research Committee funded project: 'The management of UNESCO world heritage sites in Southeast Asia: cross-cultural perspectives'. Terry is also part of the research team coordinated and funded by Institute for East Asian Studies, Sogang University, Seoul, Korea, on the theme of 'Southeast Asia as an Open Regional System'. He attended the 'Asian Urban and Heritage Tourism: Challenges and Opportunities' at the 2nd UNESCO-ICCROM Asian Academy for Heritage Management Conference, in December 2009 organised by the Institute for Tourism Studies in Macau. He is also co-editing a special issue of the *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* with a selection of the papers given at the conference. He was at the 2010 SIEAS International Conference of Research Clusters: The Historical Construction of Southeast Asia, 19-20 March 2010 at Sogang University, Seoul, where he presented a paper on 'The development of Southeast Asian Studies in the United Kingdom (and Europe): the making of a region'. Terry is also writing a book on 'Identities in motion: the sociology of cultural change in Southeast Asia' which is about two-thirds finished. He has signed a contract with Routledge for a revised second edition of Victor T. King and **William D. Wilder**, *The modern anthropology of South-East Asia: an introduction*. He and Mike Parnwell have produced a joint paper on 'UNESCO world heritage sites in Thailand: a comparative and critical appraisal' which will be included in the Leeds East Asia Papers, new series No. 1, 2010, soon to be posted on the East Asian Studies website, University of Leeds.

Dr Claudia Merli is Teaching Fellow in Anthropology at the **University of Durham**. She was in southern Thailand for fieldwork in April 2009 and December 2009–January 2010. Between March 2009 and 2010 she presented the following papers on her research: 'Context-bound theodicies: when God, nature and politics meet', Institute of Hazard, Risk and Resilience, Durham University, 5 May 2010; 'Context-bound theodicies in the aftermath of the 2004 tsunami', Thai Forum, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Leeds, 29 April 2010; 'Traditional midwives in southern Thailand and the hybridization of birth cosmology', Oxford's Southeast Asia Seminar Series, St Antony's College, Oxford, 12 February 2009; 'Between scary tales and scarred genes: hybrid cosmologies of placental oddities in southern Thailand', Medical Anthropology Research Group Seminar, Durham University, 28 January 2009; 'Male circumcision free of charge: dynamics and locations of *khao sunat* in Muslim Southern Thailand', 25th ASEASUK Conference at Swansea University, 11–13 September 2009; 'When the hospital goes to the mosque: reflections on the encounter between medical and religious rituals of circumcision in Thailand', 6th Nordic Medical Anthropology Conference, Gothenburg University, Sweden 11–13 June 2009; and 'On culture and its use in contemporary medicalising discourses on trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder', International workshop on 'Making Cross-Cultural Sense: Coming to Terms with the Concept of 'Culture', at Uppsala University, Sweden, 13 March 2009.

Professor Robert Barnes (Oxford University) gave a paper on 'What is left out of kinship' at the conference on Crow-Omaha systems at the Amerind Foundation, Dragoon, Arizona, 27 February – 3 March 2010. In March he was also at The Hague for two weeks of research into eastern Indonesian history in the Nationaal Archief.

Dr Carool Kersten (King's College London) is currently researching on 'Cosmopolitan Islam: mapping alternative Islamic discourses in Indonesia'. He delivered four papers late last year: 'Indonesia's cosmopolitan Muslims and the mediation of cultural Islam' at the Biannual International Forum on Asia-Middle East Studies: 'Transcending Borders: Asia, the Middle East and the Global Community', US Naval Academy, Annapolis, USA, 16-17 October 2009; 'Islam in post-Suharto Indonesia', Cambridge University Southeast Asia Forum (CUSEAF), St Catherine's College, 13 November 2009; 'Alternative Islamic discourses in Southeast Asia: the case of Indonesia', Social Science and Religion Seminar, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, King's College London, 19 November 2009; and 'Cultural Islam, civil Islam, cosmopolitan Islam: mediating alternative Islamic discourses in Indonesia', Chatham House, Indonesia Forum, London, 30 November 2009.

Dr Fiona Kerlogue (Horniman Museum) is currently researching the Horniman Museum's collections of photographs from 1930s Bali in preparation for a year-long exhibition to open at the Museum in April 2011. She presented a paper on 'Textiles of Jambi, Sumatra' at a seminar on 'Cultures of Cloth in Sumatra, Indonesia', Hood Museum, Dartmouth College, USA, on April 17 2009.

SOAS, Centre of South East Asian Studies

Dr Elizabeth Moore is on sabbatical research leave for 2009-10 academic session. She was Research Fellow at the National University Singapore, July-October 2009 and subsequently based in Yangon with research trips to Yunnan, Hanoi, Bangkok and Singapore. Whilst in Malaysia she completed signatures for the SOAS-ATMA Memorandum of Understanding.

Elizabeth has also presented the following papers: 'Debating the origins of bronze production in Myanmar', Yunnan University, 29

March 2010; 'Myanmar bronzes and the Dian cultures of Yunnan', Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association (IPPA) Conference, Hanoi, 1-5 December 2009; 'The beginnings of Buddhist archaeology and the Shan Plateau', Shan Studies Conference, Chulalongkorn University 15-18 October 2009; 'The Williams-Hunt Collection, aerial photographs and cultural landscapes in Malaysia and Southeast Asia', (ATMA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 13 October 2009; 'Public art and the Shwedagon pagoda in the 19th-20th century', roundtable held at Asian Research Institute, Singapore 29 September 2009, Audio online http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/publication_details.asp?pubtypeid=AU&pubid=1496; 'New archaeological evidence from the Southern Silk Road', for the Nalanda Srivijaya Series, Asian Civilizations Museum, Singapore, 16 September 2009; 'Thagara ancient city, maritime Pyu and later archaeology in southern Myanmar', Thai-Burma Group, National University of Singapore, 28 August 2009.

Research project – Radboud University Nijmegen and University of Cambridge State of Anxiety: A comparative ethnography of 'security groups' in Indonesia

The 'State of Anxiety' project, a bilateral collaboration between Radboud University Nijmegen and the University of Cambridge, began in November 2009. Led by **Frans Hüsken**, the researchers on the project, **Laurens Bakker** (Radboud) and **Lee Wilson** (Cambridge) will conduct a multi-sited ethnography of local security groups in Java, Bali, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. The project investigates the political influence these groups wield within their domains, their relationships with elements of the police and military as well local networks of criminality. A particular focus of the research is local conceptions of safety and threat, the ways insecurity figures in the affirmation of difference and processes of identification. How do these discourses of

insecurity both facilitate political agency and exacerbate identity-based conflict between groups?

Under the rule of President Soeharto's New Order, 'security' was a central tenet of nationalist political imaginaries. While the New Order was able to forcefully maintain order, disorder and instability were its constant companions (Day 2002), a means of justifying violent intervention and oppression. Post New Order, decentralisation and regional autonomy have facilitated the burgeoning growth of sites of non-state authority throughout Indonesia. Guerrilla movements, civil militias, community organisations and NGOs are just some of the many kinds of non-state agents whose authority contests or exceeds that of the state within their domains. Claiming to preserve the safety of their local communities, common to these sites of localised authority are familiar discourses of exclusion and territorial control that are often cited as the hallmark of sovereign relations in modernity. Custom and tradition, often linked to the issue of control of land and natural resources, are offered as principles of local governance and a countervailing force to the authority of the state.

The research explores the extent to which these groups in Indonesia might be considered as examples of 'de facto' sovereignty (Hansen and Stepputat 2006). Bringing into question the recent anthropological fascination with the homicidal tendencies of sovereign authority, with the 'state of exception' (Agamben 2005) as a paradigm for modern forms of government, a central theoretical question the team will address is to what degree are constellations of sovereign authority reducible solely to the capacity for the destruction of bodies? In exploring this question the team aims to establish the structural factors and processes of identification pertinent to the mobilisation and manipulation of ethnic, religious or political identities in the respective field sites. The

broader relevance of this research will be explored with respect to identity-based conflict elsewhere in Indonesia, and comparatively in other post-authoritarian contexts.

Abroad

Dr Peter Carey (Fellow Emeritus, Trinity College, **Oxford**) is currently living and working in **Jakarta** as Country Director for the **Cambodia Trust** (CT) – the UK Disability charity which he helped set up in 1989 – and as Project Director for the new Jakarta School of Prosthetics & Orthotics (JSPO). For further information see: www.cambodiatrust.org.uk

As of mid February 2010, **Professor Michael Hitchcock** who was Dean at Chichester University, is now the new Academic Director and Dean of Faculty at **IMI University Centre**, Lucerne, Switzerland. He can be contacted at michael.hitchcock@imi-luzern.com

Professor Robert H. Taylor is currently Visiting Professor at the Department of Asian and International Studies, **City University of Hong Kong**.

CONFERENCE REPORT

2010 SIEAS International Conference of Research Clusters
The historical construction of Southeast Asia
19-20 March 2010
Sogang University, Seoul, Korea

Report by V.T. King, University of Leeds

We have long been contemplating and debating the problems of defining Southeast Asia and the rationale of area studies programmes, but we have tended to be preoccupied with the historical construction of the region in the West and the place of Southeast Asian Studies in academic institutions in North America, Western Europe and Australasia. This conference, which was organised and hosted by the Sogang Institute for East Asian Studies under the Directorship of Professor Shin Yoon Hwan, gave us the opportunity not only to hear from our Korean colleagues about their perspectives on the region, but also to learn more about Korean views on Southeast Asian Studies generally, the study of the region by Korean scholars within Southeast Asia itself (particularly in Singapore, Vietnam, and Indonesia) and Korean perspectives on Southeast Asian Studies in China, Japan, the Middle East, Western Europe and the USA. Of the 19 papers presented 13 were given by Korean scholars, with two additional overviews of major sub-themes and the remaining 6 by invited speakers from Indonesia, Australia, the Netherlands, the UK and the USA. Each of the five sessions also had a Korean moderator and two Korean discussants. Korean contributors came from a wide range of local universities: Sogang, Chonbuk National, Kangwon National, Pusan University of Foreign Studies, Sungshin Women's University, Yeungnam, Gyeongsang National, Kookmin, Ehwa Women's University,

Seoul National, Hanyang, Yonsei, Konkuk and the Northeast Asian History Foundation.

The first day was devoted to three sessions on the theme of the Construction of Southeast Asian Studies: Chae Suhong, 'Overview'; Yu Insun 'Studies of Southeast Asian history in Japan: 1990-2007'; Ariel Heryanto, 'Pop culture in Southeast Asian Studies'; Park Sa-Myung, 'Southeast Asian Studies in China: progress and problems'; James Fox, 'A genealogy of Southeast Asian Studies in Australia'; Freek Colombijn, 'The Dutch colonial burden: colonial collections in postcolonial times in Indonesian Studies in the Netherlands'; Victor King, 'The development of Southeast Asian Studies in the United Kingdom (and Europe): the making of a region'; Song Seung-Won, 'Some thoughts on Southeast Asian Studies in the USA'; Park Seung Woo, 'Historical construction of Southeast Asian Studies in Korea'; Lee Sang Kook, 'In search of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore'; Choi Horim, 'The construction of Southeast Asian Studies in Vietnam'.

The second day, with two sessions, focused on the theme of 'Perceiving Southeast Asia' with an overview by Lee Ocksoon, and with the second session delivered in the Korean language. The papers comprised Maria Ng: 'Selling the exotic in travel writing: Southeast Asian as representational space then and now'; Stephen Keck, 'The British "discovery" of Southeast Asia'; Kim Eun-Young, 'Sharing the imaginary: "Indo-China" in travel accounts published in 19th-century France'; Lee Han Woo, 'Perceiving Southeast Asia through contemporary Korean novels focusing on Vietnam'; Korean Language session: Lee Ocksoon, 'Tagore's imagining of Southeast Asia in 1927'; Lee Han Soo, 'Middle-Eastern perceptions of Southeast Asia: based on the relationships between modern Ottoman state and Southeast Asia'; Yim Sungmo, 'Japanese perceptions of Southeast Asia in the modern period'; Park Kyung Seok, 'Chinese views of

"Nanyang" expressed in the travel books of 1920s-30s'; Kim Hyung-Jun, 'Is Indonesia a part of Southeast Asia?: "Representations of Southeast Asia" in Indonesian school textbooks'.

The conference is part of an ongoing programme of research funded by the National Research Foundation of Korea and it is hoped that an edited volume of revised versions of the conference proceedings will appear in due course.

The Institute is to be congratulated for organising such a wide-ranging conference so efficiently and effectively and for taking the initiative to promote the study and understanding of the Southeast Asian region within and beyond Korea. We look forward to future events and publications emerging from this research programme.

CONFERENCES

Trade and finance in the Malay world: historical and cultural perspectives

University of Frankfurt
Germany
17-18 June 2010

For further information contact Professor Arndt Graf, University of Frankfurt.
Email: arndtgraf@yahoo.de

Engaging the classics in Malay and Southeast Asian studies: where to from here?

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS)
Singapore
17-18 June 2010

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Terence Chong (terencechong@iseas.edu.sg)

History of medicine in Southeast Asia (HOMSEA 2010)

Singapore
22-25 June 2010

3rd international conference to coincide with IAHA 2010 (International Association of Historians of Asia).

Organisers: Department of History, STS Research Cluster & Asia Research Institute (ARI), National University of Singapore
For conference enquiries: John DiMoia (hisjpd@nus.edu.sg)

UK Association for Buddhist Studies

University of Leeds
6-7 July 2010
Further further information:
<http://www.ukabs.org.uk/news.html>

3rd Southeast Asian Archaeology Workshop

Institute of Archaeology
Oxford
10 June 2010
<http://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/institute.html>

Social justice and rule of law: addressing the growth of a pluralist Indonesian democracy

Diponegoro University
Semarang, Indonesia
14-15 July 2010

3rd international Yale Indonesia forum interdisciplinary conference:

<http://www.yale.edu/seas/YIF-Semarang2010.htm>

Global crossroads – the port clusters of Southeast Asia and the Middle East

Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre,
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore
27-29 July 2010

For further information contact:
Dr Geoff Wade - email: gwade@iseas.edu.sg

6th EuroSEAS Conference

Gothenburg

Sweden

26-28 August 2010

Website:

<http://www.euroseas.org/platform/en/content/the-6th-euroseas-conference-gothenburg-2010>

Medieval Tibeto-Burman languages symposium

SOAS

1 September 2010

Keynote address:

Professor Rudolf Yanson (St Petersburg State University)

The use of numerals as abbreviations in Old and Middle Burmese

AND

16th Himalayan languages symposium

2-5 September 2010

Keynote address:

Martine Mazaudon (CNRS, Paris)

Dialectology and language change: paths to tone in Tamangish languages

www.soas.ac.uk/tibeto-burman-languages-symposium/

www.soas.ac.uk/himalayan-languages-symposium/

A new Asian century: dynamics and implications

3rd International Conference on International Studies (ICIS 2010)

1-2 December 2010

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

For further information:

<http://www.icis.uum.edu.my/>

SEMINARS & WORKSHOP

SOAS Centre of South East Asian Studies, G52
Main Building, Tuesdays, 17.00-19.00

4 May 2010

Bill Hayton (BBC)

Reporting Vietnam: journalism in a one-party state.

11 May 2010

Dr Lee Wilson (Cambridge)

Force of law: security, sovereign practices and bodies politic in Indonesia



RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ALLOT, ANNA

- 2009. (with L.E. Bagshawe, eds. and trans.) *Wartime in Burma: a dairy, January to June 1942* by Theippān Maung Wa (U Sein Tin). Edited and translated from Burmese. Athens OH: Ohio University Press. 216pp.

BARNES, R.H.

- 2009a. The grooming of a raja: Don Lorenzo Diaz Vieira Godinho of Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 37: 107: 83-101.
- 2009b. A temple, a mission, and a war: Jesuit missionaries and local culture in East Flores in the nineteenth century. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 165: 1: 32-61.
- 2009c. (with Stefano Mona, Katharina E. Grunz, Silke Brauer, Brigitte Pakendorf, Loredana Castrì, Herawati Sudoyo, Sangkot Marzuki, Jörg Schmidtke, Mark Stoneking, and Manfred Kayser) Genetic admixture history of Eastern Indonesia as revealed by Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA analysis. *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 28: 8: 1865-1877.

- 2009d. (with Michael Krawczak) How obedience of marriage rules may counteract genetic drift. *Journal of Community Genetics* (online version 11 October 2009, 6 pp.).
- CAREY, PETER
 - 2008. The Security Council and East Timor. In Vaughan Lowe, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Walsh and Dominik Zaum (eds), *The Security Council and war*. Oxford: OUP [paperback edition March 2010].
 - 2008. The Javanese messiah [on the life and times of Prince Diponegoro], *The Word* (Dublin) May, pp. 4-5
 - 2008. In search of Prince Diponegoro: (1785-1855); an interview with Peter Carey. *Itinerario* 32 (1): 7-18.
 - 2008. (with Amrit Gomperts and Arnoud Haag) De veertiende-eeuwse Javaanse hofstad Majapahit alsnog op de kaart gezet'. *Caert Thresoor* 27 (3): 71-8
 - 2008. (with Amrit Gomperts and Arnoud Haag) Stutterheim's enigma; the mystery of his mapping of the Majapahit kraton at Trowulan in 1941. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 164 (4): 411-30.
 - 2009. Revolutionary Europe and the destruction of Java's Old Order, 1808-1830. In David Armitage and Sanjay Subhramanyan (eds), 'The age of revolutions' or 'world crisis': global causation, connection and comparison, c. 1760-1840. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
 - 2010. (with Amrit Gomperts and Arnoud Haag) Rediscovering the royal capital of Majapahit. *Newsletter of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS)*, Spring 53: 12-13, <http://www.iias.nl/files/IIAS_NL53_1213.pdf>
 - 2010. (with Amrit Gomperts and Arnoud Haag) Mapping Majapahit: J.W.B. Wardenaar's archaeological survey at Trowulan in 1815. In Marijke Klokke and Veronique de Groot (eds), *Proceedings of the 12th conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists*. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
 - 2010. *Kuasa Nujum: Pangéran Dipanagara dan akhir tatanan lama di Jawa, 1785 - 1855*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia [Indonesian trans. and 3rd edn of *The power of prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the end of an old order in Java, 1785-1855*, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007].
- COHEN, MATTHEW
 - 2009. Hybridity in *Komed Stambul*. In Doris Jedamski (ed), *Chewing over the west: occidental narratives in non-western readings*. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, pp. 275-301.
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BOOK REVIEWS



JAMES C. SCOTT

The art of not being governed: an anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia
 New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009
 442pp. ISBN 978 0 300 15228 9, £20

Reviewed by Nicholas Tapp
 Australian National University

Scott's new book, tantalising parts of which have been leaked through various seminars in the last few years, is a glorious romp through the 'state-repelling' spaces of what Van Schendel (2002) called 'Zomia', and an argument against classic theories of social evolution. There is lots of Lattimore, Wheatley, Leach, Lehman, Condominas, Wolters, Lieberman, Braudel – but also Clastres, Richard White (1991), and ethnographers such as Michaud, Benjamin, Keyes, Jonsson, Evans, Von Gesau, Fiskesjö, Kaup, and Mueggler. Scott combines disciplines in an anthropological history and a geographical political science, ranging over several millennia with comparative examples from the Roma, Berbers, Cossacks, Seminole and Maroon, Siriono and many others. Focusing alternately on the expansion of the Han Chinese Empire and on the emergence of Tai and Burmese kingdoms, with some reference to Malay areas, the work is influenced by Burmese ethnography.

The boldness of his case (pp. xi, 32) seems to have been deliberate. Almost always a provocative statement is followed by pages of denser argument complexifying the point. More nuanced distinctions are drawn later in the book, such as between state-repelling and

state-avoiding strategies (p. 278), between the state's symbolic, political and economic 'reach' (p. 304), or between the symbolic, political and economic 'reach' of the state (*ibid*). Scott notes that the overall argument is 'not novel' (pp. xi; 130). Parts of it were anticipated by discussions on the notion of tribe in the 1960s, and the work of Morton Fried (1975), besides Braudel (1966), Clastres (1977) and Beltrán (1979). But in this form, and with reference to the regional sources it draws on, its emphasis is original.

The argument is that Zomia, comprising the hilly areas of northeast India, Bangladesh, the adjacent parts of China/Tibet and all mainland Southeast Asia (pp. 13-16) is one of the world's 'longest-standing and largest' zones of refuge for peoples not yet fully incorporated into states (p. 325). Scott argues this new area is defined by 'ecological regularities and structural relationships' (p. 26) rather than nation-state boundaries or strategic considerations. The history of such 'zones of refuge from the state', comparable to the Great Dismal Swamp in North Carolina/Virginia, the Iraqi Marshlands, even the bandit country of China's 'Water Margin' (p. 170), has been obscured by the emphasis on nation-states and the failure of the oral traditions of its stateless peoples to be recorded in written or enduring forms (26;34). Using Beltrán's (1979) 'regions of refuge' and reflecting on the expansion of the Han Chinese state, Scott depicts Zomia as a 'vast state-resistant periphery' (p. 130). Statelessness was the normal condition for most people in the past, but this statelessness should be seen as a conscious choice by people who 'actively resisted incorporation' (p. 19). This region was characterised by an abundance of land and a shortage of labour, where large settled populations were the 'key to authority and power' (p. 42). Agrarian padi states emerged in the valleys based on the 'logic of manpower' (68), a concertina-like (pp. 94; 164) 'galaxy of waxing and waning contending

centres' (p. 58) characterised by frequent raiding, slaving and instability. As a result of tyranny, slavery, corvée, taxation, conscription, warfare, famines and disease, large sections of original populations fled to the hills to take up alternative forms of agriculture, particularly shifting cultivation, which was less amenable to state control and extortion, 'legibility and appropriation' (p. 76). Besides early populations who had never been part of states, early valley refugees were joined later by all sorts of political rebels and heterodox cult leaders and their followers in 'pulses of migration' (p. 326). This resulted in an ethnic 'vertical stacking' of the hills (p. 141), a 'segmentation of cultural pulses' (p. 167), with the Akha at the top whose culture seems to have represented 'a comprehensive rejection of states and permanent hierarchies' (p. 177). These 'barbarians by design' (p. 8) are not remnants of a primitive past who somehow failed to achieve state forms of political organisation or represented less civilised states of social being, although they retained traces of an archaic past which they brought with them when they fled lowland states. Scott suggests their fluidity of ethnic identification, the heterodox religious practices they adopted, their segmentary lineage kinship structures, their egalitarian values, multiple histories and even their oral traditions were all to some extent conscious political and cultural refusals of state authority, 'secondary adaptations' to it. Symbols of state authority nevertheless floated up into the hills and lowland structures were poached audaciously (p. 322) by hilly social structures in a subversive 'mimicry'. This provided a 'dark twin' to the state-making project (p. 326), ironically reflecting contrasts between egalitarian and hierarchical political structures in their own social organisations and religious movements (p. 289). Prophetic movements and religious heterodoxy provided the agency for substantial self-reinvention and 'collective ethnic reformulation in the hills' (p. 314) rising above kinship (and ethnicity) to

form a 'charismatic mode of resistance' for acephalous societies. There was constant dialogue and exchange (p. 105) between hills and valleys in such ways (p. 26); the hills provided the manpower lowland states needed (p. 108). Scott details the processes of assimilation of lowland populations into states at the same time as the splintering of fragments of these populations into disaffected highlanders (pp. 126; 245). And he notes that the relationship of wet rice with lowland states was not invariable, as in the cases of Ifugao or Hani rice terraces (pp. 64, 192). But overall, while valleys homogenized, the hills continued to 'fabricate ... differences, heterogeneity, and new identities' (p. 253).

The Conclusion suggests an original 'heterarchy', or non-hierarchical social complexity, from which agrarian states emerged, dislodging some peoples and expelling others (p. 326), declaring again that the upland societies of today should not be seen as the originary stuff from which states were made, but seen 'largely' as a 'reflexive product of state-making' (p. 327) characterized by frequent mobility and migrations.

One of the most convincing parts of the book is its critique of conventional maps; Scott emphasises the 'friction of terrain' – the sheer difficulties colonial administrators, from the Chinese in Guizhou to the British in Burma, had in coming to terms with the difficulties of traversing the terrain and locating administerable populations. A 'metric that corrected for the friction of terrain' would massively shrink navigable riverways, coasts and plains while magnifying mountains, forests, swamps, like a 'fairground funhouse mirror' (p. 47).

Scott is concerned to challenge the 'civilising discourse' of such Zomic regions as China (barbarians vs civilized; raw vs cooked) and of Southeast Asia as in the Tai 'Kha' category. Both

social evolutionism and local discourses have relied on false assumptions of hill people 'beyond the pale' representing archaic forms of social organisation. Although hill and valley societies formed a 'composite system' (pp. 108-9, 28), the civilising narrative of state discourse painted nature to culture as hill was to valley. Scott argues powerfully that swidden agriculture is not a primitive form but a 'state effect' which had advantages in evading the iniquities of being subjects of a state. But he has some sympathy with the discourse since he uses its own terms so much, and ends up by saying that they got it nearly right, except we should substitute 'state-subject/not-a-state-subject' for 'civilized/uncivilised' (pp. 337; 119). He also remarks that the civilisational narrative (which he sees as an 'agro-ecological code', p. 101), in which non-state people gradually move downslope to become assimilated and adopt wet-rice agriculture is 'not inherently mistaken' (p. 119); it did describe real historical processes but not the whole picture – which included importantly flight and migrations away from states. This raises questions perhaps unanswered by historians about the extent to which such indigenous perceptions about civilization should colour our own understanding of situations.

Scott is aware that in resurrecting the dichotomy between Southeast Asian hill and valley societies he might be accused of anachronism, and is careful to excuse himself from the last 50 years of history. Yet oddly, several of his examples of flight and evasion are taken from quite recent history: the Vietnamese highlands resettlement programme (p. 12), the Hmong caught between competing nationalistic claims (p. 78), the Chinese invasion of Tibet (p. 46), the 'peace villages' and 'hiding villages' of Karen guerrilla warfare against the Burmese (p. 179), even the terrorist 'sanctuaries' of 9/11 (p. 127). In a sense, this argument could *only* be historical; one cannot

help wondering if the search for a domain entirely beyond the Law, 'a form of social organization outside state-based hierarchy and tax' (p. 125) has in a sense forced Scott into history. Yet after reading the book one is bound to ask, to what extent our current suspicions of simplified state-society oppositions, of the state as monolithic, or marked hill-valley oppositions in the region, are actually the result of the huge changes which have taken place over the last 50 years or so?

It is encouraging to see so much attention to the widespread myths of the loss of writing in the region (considered also by Stuart Blackman [2007], in a wider Tibeto-Burman context) in Chapter 6½, and to messianism in Chapter 8. These stories undoubtedly point to a long-standing awareness of and relationship with societies with literacy. Scott suggests literacy may 'oscillate' as regional social structures have been said to do. Yet talking about such a huge topic as oral traditions among such a broad sweep of cultures and peoples (pp. 229-34) sometimes elides important distinctions, like gradations of textuality within the oral tradition itself. Shamanic oral traditions may be a different sort of performance altogether from public oral recitations of genealogies and from legends or founding settlement tales. The point about literacy only ever having characterised a small minority of the population is an acute one but in the Chinese context does not take into account how the written tradition travelled through popular culture via public readings, or how local stories (like deities) found their way into writing and were codified and standardised. One sees here how Scott often overdraws his argument to make an overall point which is reasonable and illuminating; there may be some positionality regarding state formations in the continuation and retention of oral traditions. This is a convincing account of the advantages of an oral tradition, but it is still quite a leap to conscious choice.

Chapter 7 elucidates Scott's 'radical constructivist' position towards ethnogenesis, arguing ethnic fluidity was itself a means of evading state control, forming 'escape social structures' which allowed Zomian 'social shape-shifting' (p. 210). Identities and social units were vague, plural and fungible (p. 211), and people were 'culturally amphibious' (p. 254). Adopting a 'mixed portfolio' of social structures as well as a mixed portfolio of subsistence techniques was adaptively advantageous (p. 211); a 'repertoire' or 'bandwidth' of identities was available to be performed to suit changing circumstances (p. 254). But the materials on North Thai ethnic fluidity (p. 243) sit uncomfortably with the creation of Zhuang identity in China under the 1950s Chinese Government classification project (p. 249), let alone the clearly defined ethnic identity of the Hmong. It is surely going too far to talk of their 'capacity to form new resistant identities at the drop of a hat' (p. 327)! Some history is given to us as well as chosen or invented. Still the general argument stands up well, because it is elsewhere qualified with remarks about how powerful such created identities may become, and how indigenism (after Christianity, socialism and nationalism) has become a new forum for strongly felt local identities (p. 323).

Chapter 8 deals with prophetic movements and messianism in the hills, envisaging the leaders of upland millenarian rebellions (which as he notes often cross-cut ethnic distinctions) as 'local cosmopolitans' (p. 309) importantly concerned with processes of symbolic incorporation from lowland states, a 'mimicry' which Scott sees unambiguously as subversive and forming a kind of 'cosmological bluster' (p. 308). Unlike most commentators, Scott sees these movements as functional and effective in the reformulations of identity they accomplish.

I think there is some confusion between the 'Miao rebellion' (there were actually three

major ones) and the 'Panthay' rebellion on p. 154, although there is no such confusion when it is mentioned again (p. 285). The acceptance of Nanchao as a Tai kingdom (p. 141) is odd, but a footnote notes differences from this view. I am not sure what the authority is for the remark that the Akha 'were considered to be among the black-bone (raw, *sheng*) non-Sinicizing Yi-Lolo' (p. 176). Probably the people known today as the Hani are meant, whose relations with Akha Scott discusses accurately elsewhere in the book, but the black-bone Yi/Norsu were a quite specific group and the 'raw' category was applied to southern minorities en masse; it is not a synonym for black-bone as this suggests. I am not sure the Akha were the highest mountaineers (p. 141); historically it was Miao and Yao groups, surely. And Miao intermarriages were certainly not common as Scott describes in the historical period he is talking about (p. 240). Yao adoptions, yes.

The book is part of continuing efforts to interrogate the modern nation-state, its hegemonic priority in studies, and its assumed inevitable evolution from more 'primitive' forms of political organisation. Scott has performed a valuable service in drawing to the attention of political scientists and historians the importance of interstitial and peripheral regions in world history. Wolf (1982) showed a similar concern for historical agency and the ethnogenesis of 'colonial tribes', but his emphasis on global connections in the formation of other societies contrasts with Scott's stress on active disconnections. Scott is concerned to lend agency to those who have been thought to be without it, to see conscious political choices and strategising in the historical practice of swidden agriculture, segmentary kinship structures, and oral traditions. He is very good at showing the rationality of these systems, and argues passionately for the adaptive advantages of shifting cultivation and oral traditions in

escaping the predatory state. This is a strikingly different picture from the generally accepted picture of these people as reluctant, hapless victims of state agency, losers in history, robbed of productive lands, or fossilised relics of some pre-historic past. Much evidence is on Scott's side. But the apparent endorsement of 'self-marginalization' as a conscious strategy must lead to serious questions for some. Yes, swidden offers freedom and no tribute, but life is immeasurably harder, and it is difficult to envisage it as a free choice – except in quite modern conditions.

Scott has had a long interest in anarchist theory and anarchy seems to be in the air as at least one other collection is now under submission (Gibson and Sillander n.d.), while Scott's own theories on Zomia will be examined by several articles in an upcoming special issue of the *Journal of Global History*. This book is engagingly and charmingly written, full of memorable catch phrases and striking images. It is a deeply humanitarian book, and a masterpiece of meditation on dichotomies between hill and valley, state and stateless, egalitarian and hierarchical, charismatic and traditional-bureaucratic authority. The picture may be over-painted, but it is a powerful and compelling narrative precisely because of its broad brushstrokes, and a useful corrective to a historical picture of passivity in the face of the state.

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MARK BEESON & ALEX J. BELLAMY

Securing Southeast Asia: the politics of security sector reform

London: Routledge, 2009. 224pp. ISBN: 978-0-415-41619-1, hb £85; ISBN: 978-0-415-49174-7, pb £22

*Reviewed by Alan Collins
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The objective of *Securing Southeast Asia: the politics of security sector reform* are two-fold. Firstly, to discern whether a gap exists between the rhetoric of reform and reality, and secondly, where the driver of reform originates. The reform Mark Beeson and Alex Bellamy, two prolific writers on East Asia and security respectively, are interested in is essentially, have the militaries of Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines narrowed their roles and withdrawn from their country's politics.

The writing style is engaging and the chapters are very well sign-posted taking the reader smoothly through the material. The argument hails from the constructivist school, with attention focused on ideational factors trumping material explanation for understanding civil-military relations. This concentration on context specific factors, such as strategic culture, underpins their criticism of the traditional approach of applying the Western model, with its emphasis on civilian control of the military and the military's professionalism, to non-Western regions. For example, noting the close correlation between civilian and military elites/institutions in Southeast Asia, they argue, makes the explanation for military intervention in politics because of weak civilian control unhelpful. The process of state- and nation-building in which Southeast Asian states were engaged, and arguably still are, gave their militaries an internal function that blurred such distinctions.

The constructivist approach adopted emphasises three factors that have greater agency than material considerations in explaining security sector reform; norms, both regulative and constitutive; strategic culture (beliefs, practices); and bureaucratic processes. Those readers familiar with constructivist discourse will recognise the language of embedded norms, logics of consequence and appropriateness and the function of institutions and epistemic communities, and here, they are applied to understanding two categories of change: fundamental and fine-tuning. The significance of material forces in two of the four fundamental changes, and the need for intensive fine-tuning in one of the other fundamental changes, indicates material factors are perhaps more significant than the writers are comfortable admitting. Nevertheless, the constructive approach is persuasively argued and the authors make a compelling case.

When the text turns to the case studies, and each country (Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines) is examined separately in turn, the focus broadens from a concentration on civil-military relations to examine their historical and political developments. In the case of Malaysia very little detail is provided about the military and instead another security-institution (the police) receives comment. While the function of the Malaysian police can be captured by the broader sense of 'security sector reform' the Malaysian chapter sits oddly in a book that concentrates on the military in the other country studies and the first three conceptual chapters. The other three country studies provide detail about the function of the military in the states' state- and nation-building projects. They are well-researched, clearly written and provide an excellent coverage of the relationship between civilian and military institutions from colonial to contemporary times. The Thai chapter provides an accessible coverage of the 2006 coup, and the Indonesian chapter provides incisive commentary on the 'New Paradigm' and Yudhoyono's reform programme.

It is though in the country studies that a tension can be discerned. Having dismissed the notion of applying Western-centred ideas on what civil-military relations should be, and instead noting ideational factors, including strategic culture and historical experiences, as explanatory factors for how they are, the authors then adopt a critical stance on the limited extent of sectoral reform; hence their 'overall conclusions are fairly gloomy' (p. 173). The gloomy conclusion that these states are unlikely to adopt Western-inspired security sector reform and, at best pay lip service to it, is only gloomy if there was an expectation that such reform would be undertaken. However, the author's constructivist approach explains that such an outcome is highly unlikely and indeed misplaced. If we are to accept that civil-

military relations are a construction of powerful constituencies within each of the states under examination, rather than a consequence of Western-inspired directives about military professionalism, then rather than decrying rhetorical fine-tuning and looking for fundamental change, we should instead be asking why the need for rhetorical fine-tuning, what does this tell us about the changing nature of ideas, and the power relations between the various actors in this sector. For example, why is the conclusion about security sector reform in Indonesia 'sobering' (p. 151)? The chapter provides a clear, detailed and concise explanation for why we shouldn't expect anything else.

The book is part of a growing literature that applies constructivist thinking to a variety of security topics; while in this instance it might appear to be civil-military relations in four Southeast Asian states the text is broader than this. In the country surveys the focus is more about corrupt practices in general and how these inhibit security sector reform. In this respect the empirical material does not quite provide the detail on the militaries that some readers might be seeking (it is detailed on Indonesia and Thailand but has relatively little on the Philippines and Malaysia). It is though a compelling read, using constructive discourse to explain the central role militaries have had in state- and nation-building and how this has acted as an obstacle to security sector reform.

CRAIG A. LOCKARD

Southeast Asia in world history

New York: Oxford University Press, 2009

270 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-533811-9,

pb £10.99

*Reviewed by Robert H. Taylor
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Any author who undertakes to write a history of more than two millennia of what we now think of as Southeast Asia in a little over 200 pages is either brave or foolhardy. Few have done so since D.G.E. Hall's pioneering, and much longer, history of the region. Some authors have tried collaborative histories, bringing together various specialists to paint many miniatures in an attempt to create larger patterns. Any one scribe or group of scribes that undertakes to write a history of Southeast Asia today faces obstacles that earlier authors did not. Much more is now known as Southeast Asia as an area of study has developed from its post-World War II roots. The world of Southeast Asia has been largely transformed since Hall set out to trace the origins of today's Southeast Asian nation-states. Publishing has changed too, as have readers. Publishers don't like large books because students don't like to read lengthy tomes with no illustrations, 'amusing' sidebars, and scant light touches. Big words are out, for heaven forbid an undergraduate should have to refer to a dictionary. Borrowing from foreign tongues is to be eschewed for fear of making people think that there is another beyond pigeon English.

Craig Lockard, a Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay, is one such brave individual and he has produced a volume of which he should be proud. While not all readers will be satisfied with the choices he has made as to what to include and what to ignore, what to highlight and what to

downplay, he had to make them. On balance, the result is a highly readable volume that undergraduates and other novices in Southeast Asian studies can use as an introduction to the much broader literature that now exists. *Southeast Asia in World History* is a delectable appetiser. It is tastefully illustrated and contains useful maps and a brief but very useful bibliography and guide to further reading.

The author has chosen a number of apt quotations and proverbs from Southeast Asian sources to illustrate the volume. This enhances both the readability of the book and the sense that it is actually about a fascinating part of the world unlike that of the expected Western reader. He clearly knows a great deal about the literary world of Southeast Asia. Being a book written in the 21st century, certain themes not emphasised so greatly in earlier eras, get significant attention in this volume, particularly that of gender. Curiously, the very helpful index refers to this subject as 'gender equality' cross referenced to a rather 19th century 'women's place'. Presumably, 'gender inequality' does not get a look in, but what about 'men's place' and 'the place of transsexuals'? Class formation and the politics of the left in both the nationalist movements of the pre-World War II era and after independence in a number of countries in the region get less attention than perhaps is deserved by their historical importance.

Specialists on different countries may find things to get picky about as they read through the volume. The choice of the little known Ma Thein May, who was elected a vice president of the Rangoon University Students Union in 1927, to illustrate the role of women in colonial Burma seems peculiar to me. The example of Ma Mya Sein, the first Burmese woman to gain an Oxford postgraduate degree, the author of *The administration of Burma*, delegate to the Burma Round Table Conference in London, and sole representative of the women of British

India at the League of Nations first conference on women in 1930, would strike me as more apt. Thakin Nu did not translate Karl Marx, that was Thakin Soe. Nu translated the American uplift author Dale Carnegie and his *How to win friends and influence people*. The 1936 Rangoon university students strike was not about 'scholarships and exam[inations]', but about revealing the author of an essay in the student union paper exposing a British faculty member's sexual misconduct. But to dwell on such matters is to detract from the value of this book.

Southeast Asia in world history is strong on historical narrative and cultural understanding. It is less strong on economic development and social change. The dynamics of international politics, particularly the role of the Cold War and related bloody wars in Southeast Asia, and their implications for the economic transformation of the region in recent years is not as clearly enunciated as some might prefer. But in such a small book, one cannot have everything. If you need to point a novice to one book on Southeast Asian history, you would not go far wrong by recommending Craig Lockard's fine book.

TIM WINTER, PEGGY TEO & T.C. CHANG, EDS.
Asia on tour. Exploring the rise of Asian tourism
 London: Routledge, 2009.
 xvi, 360pp. ISBN 0-415-46086-7, pb £21.59

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In reviewer's jargon this book is 'timely' or perhaps even more to the point 'long-awaited'. I wish I had had a hand in co-editing it. Many of us who have been involved in Asian tourism studies during the past couple of decades have been bemoaning, with some notable exceptions

like Nelson Graburn's study of Japanese tourism (1983), the lack of research on domestic tourism in Asia and intra-Asian tourist flows. The statistical material available has been telling us for some time that a significant characteristic of tourism in Asia is that it is increasingly locally generated. More especially the rapid increase in mainland Chinese tourism within and beyond the PRC has forced us to redirect our attention away from West-East transactions to interactions between Asians.

In their introductory essay the editors address one of the major issues in the examination of Asians at play through the striking image of a 'muscular' Japanese male tourist wearing white Speedos and soaking up the sun on a beach in Phuket (pp. 13). We are told that this image was used to advertise a conference on the theme 'Of Asian Origin: rethinking tourism in contemporary Asia' under the auspices of the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore in September 2006 from which this edited book has emerged. Rather than the popular representations of international tourism of tanned and healthy Caucasian females in bikinis, and those of Western tourists splayed out or strolling on palm-fringed beaches and playing in white-surfed clear blue waters, the image of a beach-and sun-loving Asian challenges, according to the editors, dominant assumptions about encounters between Western guests and Asian hosts. More than this, so it is argued, the shift of focus to Asians on tour in Asia requires us 'to ask unfamiliar and important questions', and more pressingly 'to address the analytical imbalances that characterize tourism studies today' (p. 2).

There is much to ponder and excite in this volume which comprises 21 chapters with the addition of a 'rethinking tourism' editorial introduction and a concluding contribution from Tim Winter on the ambitious, perhaps too

ambitious, theme of 'recasting tourism theory towards an Asian future'. Edited books emerging from conferences are often problematically disparate, so, to help the reader, the editors structure the proceedings into five sections: 'Challenging conventions'; 'Emerging markets, (re)scripting places'; 'National imaginings and tourism development'; 'Revis(it)ing heritage: Dissonance or harmony?'; and finally 'Tourism and new social networks'. There are contributors well known to the tourism studies constituency within Asia and more widely: aside from the editors, C. Michael Hall, Maribeth Erb, Nelson Graburn, Sidney Cheung and Pal Nyiri, and also relative newcomers, several of them at the time of writing, doctoral candidates, including Audrey Bochaton, Charles Carroll, Jenny Chio, and Bertrand Lefebvre.

In order to press ahead with the project to 'localise' tourism studies and to challenge Western ethnocentrism we might have anticipated that a volume on Asian tourists in Asia would have been produced predominantly by Asian observers. The hoary old issue of the distinctions between the 'emic' and 'etic', 'domestic' and 'foreign', and the 'local' and 'global' and the need to overcome them surfaces particularly in this kind of enterprise. However, only about half the contributors are Asian, and most of them hail from either Singapore or the Chinese-speaking areas of East Asia; even then the majority of the researchers, Western and non-Western, received their research training in North America and Europe. What is more, apart from Singaporeans writing on Singapore and one chapter on Thailand co-authored by Prasit Leepreecha, there is nothing from local researchers working on the major parts of Southeast Asia (Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Myanmar, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos); and sadly, no Japanese tells us about Japanese tourists and tourism.

Having said this, the country coverage is reasonable, though of course, with the importance of trans-national movements and encounters and the problems of defining 'Asian', 'Chinese', 'Singaporean', 'Indian' and so on this issue of nationality is perhaps of less significance (and see Winter, p. 321). In addition to chapters on Asia in general (Michael Hall on Asian identity and regionalism; Peggy Teo on tourism knowledge formation in Asia), there are predictably chapters on Chinese tourism including Chinese tourists to Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand (Pal Nyiri), to Hong Kong, Singapore and Vietnam (Chan Yuk Wah), and to Tibet (Robert Shepherd); Chinese domestic tourism [Jenny Chio] and domestic back-packers [Francis Kek Gee Lim]. Other chapters with reference to East Asia include film-induced tourism in Korea (Youngmin Choe); domestic tourism in Japan (Nelson Graburn); food and domestic tourism in Hong Kong (Sidney Cheung); and young Taiwanese tourists and photography (Joyce Hsiu-Yen Yeh). Chapters on Southeast Asia comprise one on souvenirs in Cambodia (Tim Winter); boutique hotels in Singapore (Peggy Teo and T.C. Chang); Asian medical tourism in Thailand (Audrey Bochaton and Bertrand Lefebvre); domestic tourism in northern Thailand (Olivier Evrard and Prasit Leepreecha); domestic tourism in eastern Indonesia (Maribeth Erb); Indian tourists in Bali (K. Thirumaran); domestic tourism in Vietnam (Jamie Gillen); and Lao tourists in Thailand (Charles Carroll). Finally, there are two chapters on South Asia (Ayurvedic tourism in Kerala [Denise Spitzer]; and domestic tourism in Kashmir [Shalini Panjabi]).

The attraction of this volume is the wide range of empirical material to which we now have access on Asians at leisure in Asia, their characteristics, behaviour, motivations and their socio-cultural effects, and the implications of the growth of local tourism for citizenship and identities. This is the strength of the

volume, and on that basis it will certainly become a standard reference work in the multidisciplinary field of tourism studies. However, the editors also make great claims for the possibilities of rethinking and reconceptualising our perspectives and analyses of tourism, which, they argue, have been bedevilled by the continuing preoccupation with Western tourism and, by the universalistic assumptions about 'the tourist' which have been generated by these Western geographic and cultural biases (Winter's 'Anglo-Western centrism'). This seems to be the less successful aspect of the volume in that the concepts and orientations which have been constructed by Western observers (like MacCannell, Urry, Turner and Ash and the contributors to Valene Smith's *Hosts and guests*) have long been debated, revised, and by some discarded, and the culturally relative, pluralistic, complex character of tourists and tourism firmly established. Tim Winter's concluding comments, though well taken, do not seem to give us a clear direction in seeking out alternative discourses (see, for example, pp. 322-23), nor does Peggy Teo's search for other 'tourism truths' (pp. 34-51).

Reminiscent of the very early post-war debates about the importance of moving away from Western-centred perspectives and constructing autonomous or domestic histories of Southeast Asia, we can of course agree with Winter and others that we need 'to centre' scholarship from Asia, write histories of Asian tourism, build institutional support in Asia for the critical study of Asian tourism, address the imbalances between particular countries in Asia, and feed critical thinking into policy-making. However, the development of 'grounded theory and alternative discourses', as Winter himself notes, appears to be 'the trickiest issue of all' (p. 322). We can appreciate that local hosts may hold different perceptions of tourists of different nationalities, though not

in all circumstances; that tourists of different ethnicities and different types may have different motivations, expectations and interests, and organise their visits in different ways; that various notions of modernity, 'self', status and power are generated, captured and reflected upon in the Asian tourism experience; that Asian visitors to other Asian countries may form different images of their hosts than Western tourists; that encounters between tourists and hosts who share broadly the same culture should be thought of in terms of a paradigm of 'cultural affinity' rather than one which focuses on difference and the exotic; that in domestic tourism the interaction between national and ethnic, local and provincial identities frequently comes into play; that distinctions between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' are more permeable, fluid and ambiguous than originally assumed; and that in a globalising and increasingly cosmopolitan world the distinctions between the domestic and the foreign are 'no longer isomorphic' (Graburn, p. 195). But do these considerations amount to theoretical and discursive innovations?

The editors themselves are uncertain whether Asian tourism experiences are 'qualitatively different' and are 'creating a series of distinct, even unique, cultural forms' (p.9). On the basis of what is provided for us in this volume I would venture to suggest that, rather than new paradigms and alternative discourses, we can continue to address these encounters and experiences in terms of the concepts and paradigms currently available to us, although of course, where necessary, with suitable cross-cultural and contextual modification.

PATRICK GUINNESS

Kampung, Islam and state in urban Java

Singapore: Asian Association of Australia in association with NUS Press, 2009.

272 pp. ISBN 978-9971-69-470-8, pb

US\$28/S\$38

Reviewed by Kostas Retsikas

School of Oriental and African Studies

Guinness's second book is the result of ethnographic engagement with an urban neighbourhood in the city of Yogyakarta, Central Java, spanning four decades from the mid 1970s to the mid 2000s. It provides the reader with an account of the many changes this kampung has undergone in the face of economic dislocations and political transitions that culminate in the economic crisis of the late 1990s and the democratic reformation that followed Suharto's resignation in May 1998. At the centre of Guinness's theoretical concerns lies the following question: is kampung community an artificial imposition of state institutions or does it arise organically as it were from face-to-face relations characterised by reciprocity and an ethic of mutual help? Moreover, are kampung solidarity and cooperation able to withstand the tide of modernisation, Islamic reformation, and individualistic consumption, as well as, combat the political uncertainties and the potentially divisive effects of political party competition of the 2000s? To all these questions, Guinness provides a resounding yes that celebrates kampung communalism and finds in kampung values and activities the necessary resources for the articulation of an 'alternative modernity' that is supposedly distinct from both state-led development and capitalist production.

The ethnographic and historical material of the book is presented in eight chapters that

together with the introduction and the conclusion bring the overall number of chapters to ten. After setting the tone in Chapter 1, in Chapter 2 the author begins his ethnographic explorations with an intimate portrait of the life and deeds of his long-term host, patron and friend, the late Pak Sugiharjo, and his family, concentrating on the highs and lows of their everyday struggle for survival. Sugiharjo's life story is a long-term case study of the household strategies members of this low income and marginalised kampung embark upon in order to ensure biological and social reproduction. Such themes are explored further in chapters 3 and 4 that assess formal projects and informal initiatives that were undertaken during the economic crisis by state and international actors on the one hand, and the community itself on the other, so as to alleviate poverty, create employment opportunities, and generate capital. Here Guinness finds that the latter were by far the most successful and argues the development through civil society associations or 'informalisation' is more effective and efficient than development through state organs. This is an argument that the book returns to in Chapter 9 that charts the programmes and publications of a specific Yogyakarta-based NGO originally established by the esteemed architect, novelist, and Jesuit priest Y.B. Mangunwijaya pursued through adopting a more participatory approach that sought to empower kampung residents.

A very interesting portrait of the changes in terms of the challenges, problems and preoccupations facing kampung youth from the 1970s up to the 2000s is presented in Chapter 5. Of immediate concern here is an increase in drinking and gambling that coupled with the general lack of education and employment further marginalised low class youth. However, such anti-social behaviour did decrease markedly in the early 2000s partly as a result of new employment opportunities and partly

through the successful efforts of community leaders.

Overall changes in the making of kampung relations are addressed in Chapter 6 with the focus shifting to *kendhuren* or *slametan* rituals and exchanges, the classical locus of Javanese ethnography. In the specific community Guinness studies *slametan* disappeared altogether from communal life by the early 2000s, only to be substituted with *sembahyang* (prayer) sessions. The crucial point of difference is that while in the past *slametan* brought together those who shared the same place irrespective of economic status or religious affiliations, *sembahyang* clearly differentiate neighbours into Christians and Muslims, and into traditionalist and reformist Muslims. At the same time, more affluent households are now able to stage increasingly lavish and expensive weddings involving greater numbers of guests the majority of whom come from outside the kampung. The reasons for these changes are multiple and have to do with *sembahyang* providing a cheaper alternative to *slametan*, the increasing economic differentiation of residents brought about by the economic crisis, and the reformists' critiques of *slametan* as un-Islamic. Despite these earth shattering changes, Guinness maintains that the local community has lost none of its vitality and relevance, writing that 'despite the potential for religious correctness to raise tension among neighbours of different faiths, harmony within the neighbourhood community remained a central ideological and practical principle of most residents' (p.168).

The potential for latent and actual violence in kampung communities is explored in the two following chapters. Chapter 7 deals with the 2004 elections and the smoothness which characterised their holding something that Guinness attributes to both the material and symbolic resources deployed by

neighbourhood leaders. Chapter 8 aims to critique those approaches that attribute the many instances of violence in post-Suharto Java to the militarisation of society by the New Order state and those that see a violent state as an extension of kampung relations that are equally founded on violence. While Guinness might be right to criticise the first approach as reductionist, his critique of the second is neither clear nor persuasive as he often falls back on a rosy portrayal of kampung as permeated by mutual obligation and tolerance that somehow manage to contain and dissipate difference, antagonism, conflict, and enmity.

Overall, Guinness's latest book seems to be tied to an ecclesiastical view of community that endows it with transcendental value and to insist on taking for granted distinctions such as those between community and the state that the project of modernity has naturalised as analytical and universal. Despite providing many interesting cases where profound changes have occurred in the neighbourhood it is focusing on, the kampung is treated as homogeneous, regimented, static, and largely divorced from the wider contexts it is embedded in. I also find that the model of development practice the book advocates, despite its flavour for rescuing people's agency, bypasses critical questions such as those of accountability and the micro-politics of participation. However, the book remains a useful resource for students of Indonesia, especially those interested in development, social change, and urban marginality; others should do well to look elsewhere.

BARBARA HATLEY

Javanese performance on an Indonesian stage: celebrating culture, embracing change

Singapore: Singapore: Asian Studies

Association Australia and NUS Press, 2008

336 pp. 53 figs b/w + col. ISBN 9-78997-1694-104, pb US\$28/S\$38

Reviewed by Felicia Hughes-Freeland

Swansea University

Performance is such an established field in Southeast Asian studies and beyond that it may be difficult to imagine that in the late 1970s, Barbara Hatley was one of the few who had published in English on contemporary Indonesian theatre at that time. This is a long awaited book, based on over 30 years of work hitherto available only in journal articles and book chapters. It has been well worth the wait, and provides a comprehensive overview and analysis of popular theatre, comprising Javanese-language *ketoprak* 'popular melodrama' and modern Indonesian-language theatre.

As is often the case with anthropological monographs, the analysis is embedded in the intensive ethnographic engagement with performers and performances over a long period of time. This ethnography is mostly about theatre produced and performed in the city of Yogyakarta, in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, with additional discussion of some troupes based in Solo, the capital city of the neighbouring Province of Central Java. The book is structured largely around a chronological account of changes observed by the author from the 1970s to 2004. The early chapters outline the theatrical scene in Yogyakarta in relation to the social and historical context, with an amply illustrated

description of theatrical conventions and social meanings most helpful for readers unfamiliar with Javanese theatre and culture. This prepares the reader for the complex and intriguing analysis of versions of two *ketoprak* plays from the early 1960s and late 1970s about Arya Penangsan and Ki Ageng Mangir. She explores the treatment of these, anomalous 16th-century figures who die in the struggle for power while challenging ideas of Javanese kingship, rounding up the chapter with Pramoedya Ananta Toer's play about Ki Ageng Mangir, written as a political prisoner in the 1960. She then introduces western-style Indonesian-language drama between the mid 1970s and 1990, explaining how it drew on Javanese stories and culture to produce particular kinds of political meanings and 'competing styles of Javanese' in Yogyakarta, demonstrated by Rendra's Bengkel Theatre, Teater Alam, Dinasti, and the *sampakan* troupes, Jeprik and Gandrik. By this stage the earlier emphasis on Indonesian-language texts has been replaced by 'unmediated' Javanese elements, so that Indonesian and Javanese are played off against each other to comment on aspects of social experience. This highly detailed chapter also discusses the Islamic theatrical revival, galvanised by the poet and political commentator, Emha Ainun Nadjib. Chapter 5 returns to *ketoprak* in 1990, when all five commercial *ketoprak* troupes had shut down. Scripted plays had become the norm. A 'new guard' (p. 161) including Bondan Nusantara, Marwoto, Nano Asmarandon, and Didik Nini Thowok were developing new forms of *ketoprak*, including 'humorous *ketoprak*' which played to middle class audiences on television and prestige venues.. At the same time, since his accession in 1989 the tenth Sultan (and also later Governor) of Yogyakarta had been promoting a wider range of performances for annual court celebrations, such as the big productions in 1993, and the 'People Theatre Performances' for his first eight-year cycle (*windu*) of rule in December 1994, sponsored

by Sunsilk shampoo. Hatley focuses on these big productions, though the Sultan had also been encouraging aristocrat-led dance troupes such as Suryakencana to bring their dance and martial arts skills to promote *ketoprak* in Yogyakarta's kampungs.

The events and performances leading up to chaos preceding the fall of Suharto in 1998 and the changes of Yogyakarta's characteristically heterogeneous cultural mix are discussed in two chapters which trace national political reformation, deregulation through regional autonomy legislation, and the sultan's cultural manoeuvres as Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta up to 2004. Hatley suggests the 'Cultural Dialogue' held in the court was an assertion of Central Javanese identity in response to the critique of Javanese symbols of identity following Suharto's fall, but since his accession the Sultan had been developing a new role for the court in Yogyakarta (city and Province), which is culturally differentiated from Central Java. The discussion embraces plays by the radically experimental Gapit troupe based in Solo and different audience reactions to their work, including prisoners, to support the argument that audiences were looking for enjoyment instead of understanding. The significance of plays about the hero, Gadjah Mada (for whom Indonesia's first university in Yogyakarta was named) links to the next chapter, 'Celebrating Yogyakarta Identity', which discusses performances at the Yogyakarta Arts Festival and Independence Day celebrations attended by Hatley during two weeks of fieldwork in 2003 and 2004. This chapter is more fragmented and less focused – a sign of the times it describes – though it does return to an appraisal of *ketoprak*'s re-emergence as populist people's theatre rather than grand spectacles.

One of two central analytical strands is the engagement of transforming popular theatre with socio-political circumstances and

characterisation and its relationship of theatre to the 'powerholders'. *Ketoprak* and then modern theatre have both been subjected to surveillance and repression, from the vicissitudes of populist *ketoprak* troupes in the 1920s as the Dutch colonial regime attempted to curb the nascent nationalist movement and the first communist party to be founded outside the Soviet Union through Suharto's New Order (1966-1998), which had been founded in a purge of left wing politics and gradually neutralising any political engagement. Sporadic resistance elicited brutally disproportionate reprisals by the regime, though Hatley does not always spell this out: the student protests at Gadjah Mada in 1977-78 were put down by tanks coming on to the campus and people were taking refuge from bullets under desks and in bathrooms. Not until the breakdown of New Order hegemony could Indonesian citizens talk politics with impunity. The second analytical strand is the question of gender and changes in women's participation in theatre. Hatley has been one of the very few performance scholars to focus on gender, and Chapter 8 presents her analysis of how theatre has contributed to changes in gender expectations during 30 years of research. This marvellous account discusses how the assertive and comedic improvisations of women heroines of the romantic *ketoprak* plays of the 1970s were lost in the stricter controls of scripted plays and the domestic idealisation of women as wives and mothers during the New Order. The material includes the life histories of leading performers such as the *ketoprak* actor Marsidah and the dramatist and Institute of Indonesian Arts (ISI) lecturer Yudiaryani – a rare mention of this significant academic training institution, incidentally. Hatley argues that developments in the 21st century such as the emergence of all-women troupes, including Sahita and their innovative productions which challenge dominant cultural representations of women, mean that gender on stage now

represents 'contested female forms' (p. 251) and a wide variety of female images.

This rich complex book will become a classic in its field. Hatley tells the story of the changing forms of theatre and its audiences so that the material is accessible to those who cannot experience this book as a time machine taking them back to a dear and familiar place, though Yogyakarta's identity as an educational centre attracting students from all over Indonesia could have been made clearer. I have a number of small quibbles. At times I wanted more of the personal tone of the introduction to give a sense of the research process. I would also have liked more detail of place and year in the photo captions. The writing includes evocative plot summaries and quotations from audience members, but there are very few examples of language from the plays. As someone who has spent nearly as long as Hatley in Yogyakarta but researching 'dance', I would have been interested to know about the relationship between *ketoprak* and the courtly dance theatre (*wayang wong*), given the longstanding porous boundary between performances of the court and the folk, which has then been subjected to politically defined cultural boundaries – a question for another publication, perhaps? I also recognised that this book, with its impressive scope and depth, of necessity avoids complexities of performance taxonomies arising from the importance of kinaesthetic elements in Javanese theatre which make a clear division between dance and drama problematic.

Despite the current negative commentary about the rise of fundamentalism in Indonesia since regional autonomy and 9/11, Hatley concludes with an optimistic view of the future of theatre and the roles for women both on and off the stage. As if to remind us of the unpredictability of every day life, her epilogue reports on how Bondan Nusantara used theatre as a morale-raising tool in villages south of

Yogya hit by a major earthquake in May 2006. Didik Nini Thowok took me to one of Bondan's events which included *ketoprak* and performers from Yogya's gamelan festival, and I invited him to dance in a village being helped by a group of Acehnese volunteers (KYPNA). This ended up as a major event, with a full evening's entertainment including acts by local children and television personalities. I can testify personally to the power of Hatley's last example of theatre's socio-political engagement in the Yogya region. Her book is a tribute to the many artists she discusses, and a triumph of longitudinal research. I hope that an Indonesian-language version is in production, so that all theatre practitioners and audiences in Yogya and elsewhere will be able to read this version their story.

MINAKO SAKAI, GLENN BANKS, & J.H. WALKER, EDS.
The politics of the periphery in Indonesia: social and geographical perspectives
Singapore: National University Press, 2009
324pp. ISBN 978-9971-69-479-1,
pb US\$28/S\$38

Reviewed by John Sidel
London School of Economics and
Political Sciences

Over the course of the past decade, Indonesian politics and society have experienced a dramatic sea change, with centralised authoritarian rule replaced by decentralised democracy. The resulting transformations have been accompanied by two trends in academic research on Indonesia: a shift away from Jakarta, from national-level political and social developments, and from the central state in favour of local studies; and a shift away from grand narratives in favour of multiple – and more modestly framed – accounts of diversity in Indonesian political and social life.

The politics of the periphery in Indonesia: social and geographical perspectives, a collection of essays edited by Minako Sakai, Glenn Banks, and J.H. Walker and published by the National University Press in Singapore, exemplifies these trends. Here we have yet another edited volume on local trends across the sprawling Indonesian archipelago, by anthropologists, historians, political scientists, sociologists, and other scholars working on a range of different localities and themes. If there is a unifying focus of this volume, it is 'identity', with regional and ethnic identities treated in virtually all of the essays. Malay identity across Sumatra, Acehnese and Papuan 'regional' or 'national' identities, Dayak-Madurese conflict in West Kalimantan, 'Chinese' identity, and Indonesian national identity all serve as focal points in successive essays in the volume.

The volume begins with a set of overarching thematic essays, the richest and most illuminating of which is Audrey Kahin's account of West Sumatra's emblematic experience of integration within the Indonesian nation-state. Minako Sakai treats the diverse manifestations of 'Malayness' across Palembang, Padang, Medan, and the Riau Archipelago. Anthony Reid and Richard Chauvel offer historically informed explanations for the relative strength of Acehnese and Papuan nationalisms, with Chauvel's account noteworthy for its emphasis on Christianity in Papua. Dedi Adhuri's essay is also notable for its treatment of questions of access to maritime resources, the complexity and salience of which have only increased with decentralisation. As noted above, other essays treat questions of ethnic conflict, *adat* (customary law), and religion as well.

Among the final essays in the volume are three treating so-called Chinese-Indonesians: a broad historical overview by Charles Coppel, a discussion of 'Chineseness' in recent literature and film by Paul Tickell, and a biographical account of the late historian Ongbokham by

David Reeve. While appropriately idiosyncratic and especially moving for those who knew Ong, Reeve's account is in some ways the most revealing of all the essays in the volume. In Ong's life, Reeve makes clear, questions of 'identity' were confronted, evaded, sublimated, or simply ignored in a context in which class and power, anxiety and desire, sexuality and violence always loomed large. 'Identity' was never fully achieved or consolidated, and it did not always present itself as an overriding urge or imperative. Many of the essays in this volume express cautious optimism with regard to the possibility of an Indonesia in which diverse and fluid identities can be accepted and accommodated. Perhaps here it is worth adding an expression of hope for an Indonesia freer from the pressures and anxieties associated with the insistence on 'identity' in the first place.

MONICA LINDBERG FALK

Making fields of merit: Buddhist female ascetics and gendered orders in Thailand
Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2007
283 pp. ISBN: 978-87-79114-65-6, hb £45;
978-87-7694-019-5, pb £16.99

Reviewed by Hiroko Kawanami
Lancaster University

Lindberg Falk's book, simultaneously published by the University of Washington Press, is a welcome addition to a growing number of ethnographic monographs on Buddhist nuns. It provides descriptive information on the *mae chii*; a vernacular term used for the largest category of female Buddhist ascetics in Thailand, presently about 20,000. Despite recent interest in nuns and female ascetics, however, the author states, 'Very little is known about the background of the *mae chii*, their

lives, under what circumstances they live, the places they live in, and the processes of change that are going on in the *mae chii* communities' (pp.2-3), and sets out to answer these questions. The book comprises ten chapters including the introduction and summarising conclusion, and its strength lies in the detailed ethnography as a result of 17 months' fieldwork during 1997-98 and several follow-ups since then.

Although it is accepted that the construction of gender has to be understood in relation to systems of power that govern it, many of the discussions that took place in the 1980s and early 1990s, under the influence of structuralism and western feminist paradigms, have served to reinforce an essentialist viewpoint regarding Buddhist women and nuns, viewing them as a monolithic entity in their lay category as opposed to the ordained other-worldly monks. In this study, the author describes the great diversity of Thai Buddhist women's religious standing and explores the wide spectrum of their experiences ranging from that of a lay to an initiated monastic. In fact, Buddhist nuns are not a 'homogeneous' group and this study shows that their social backgrounds, education, aspirations and motives vary significantly. The only experience they share is that they all have had to reconcile the tension between social duty and individual aspiration; the expectations placed on Thai women to be married and have children, and the religious ideals of becoming a female ascetic. And even though their religious status will not provide them with the kind of 'maturity' it would for a monk, there are an increasing number of women who opt for such renunciant lifestyle.

I found Chapter 5 to be most insightful as it deals with the issue of how a 'non-laity' identity of *mae chii* is formed as personal development takes place. Here, the author states that there is a critical distinction between *mae chii* who live

in temples and those who live in *Samnak chii*; in the former, they are dependent on monks and live catering for their domestic needs, whilst in the latter, they are self-governing and follow their own rules. We are informed that 'it is only in the last decades that *Samnak chii*'s independent of temples have increased in number' (p.114), nonetheless, they provide a unique religious space for women to create a new religious identity. It is also noteworthy that social perceptions appear to be changing towards these 'independent' nuns who are becoming increasingly accepted as 'legitimate recipients in the field of merit' (p.145).

In providing a background to the establishment of Sathaaban Mae Chii Thai (*mae chii* national organisation) and its central role in providing them education, the author attempts to address relevant themes in Thai Buddhism: the development of modern Thai state; the history of centralisation of the Sangha; the role of Buddhadasa and new Buddhist movements of Dhammakaya and Santi Asoke, the role of media and the decline of institutional Sangha, and so on. Such overview, however, may benefit general readers who are not familiar with the field, but can be frustrating for more advanced readers as it distracts from the main discussion. Perhaps the discussion should have kept its focus on the new direction of nuns' monastic education, the rules of regulations stipulated by the Institute, and its national network, enriching a directly relevant context in which to understand the *mae chii* quest for education, legal recognition, and more respectability.

Finally, it deals with the controversial issue regarding the introduction of *bhikkhuni* in Thailand. Most *mae jii* the author interviewed did not aspire to become ordained, and 'adopted the general opinion that the *bhikkhuni* order was broken and could not be restored'. What they were intent on was to have a legal recognition 'in their capacity as *mae chiis*' (p.

227). Their position was in stark contrast to that of some of the distinguished Thai *bhikkunis* who asserted their 'right' to be part of the Sangha. In examining the *bhikkhuni* issue, perhaps the author could have drawn our attention to the divergent views amongst Buddhist female ascetics; between those from Bangkok with a middle class upbringing and a western neo-liberal outlook, and the majority of *mae chii* from rural areas of central Thailand or Isaan, the deprived Northeastern region known for its autonomous traits. This again takes us back to the fact that religious experiences of Thai Buddhist women are not homogenous, and thus when we speak of 'oppression', we have to be cautious in paying enough attention to the local contexts in which women encounter their daily challenges and seek meaning in their religious lives.

Overall, the book is an excellent introduction for students and those who are interested in gaining further insight into the religious experiences of Buddhist women and nuns in Thailand. It is also sympathetically written reflecting the deep affection the author has for her informants whose life as Buddhist female renunciants is by no means easy, as we analyse and objectify their daily struggle from comfortable chairs.

TIM WINTER

Post-conflict heritage, postcolonial tourism: culture, politics and development at Angkor
London: Routledge, 2007
xxvi, 170pp., ISBN 0-415-43095-X,
hb £76.50; 0-203-94638-3 (eb).

Reviewed by V.T. King
University of Leeds

Perhaps a review of a book published in 2007 is past its sell-by date, but *Post-conflict heritage* is

an important piece of work in the field of tourism studies in Southeast Asia and more widely, and it deserves a considered comment. It is a strikingly good book, powerfully and convincingly argued, and it speaks to both academic researchers and the practitioner community, though, for those who are more interested in policy, perhaps a little less of the postcolonial, post-modern narrative and theory would have been welcome. Angkor has both enormous national importance, and with its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1992, global cultural significance. For these reasons Winter's analysis is of particular moment. The importance of his study is obvious when, in setting the scene, he tells us that in the early 1990s 'Cambodia was about to witness an explosion in tourism unparalleled in any other country in recent times' (p. 1). The volume also carries on in the tradition of such writers as Robert Wood and Michel Picard in exploring the politics of culture and identity in the context of tourism development in Asia.

What is especially compelling about the book is the way in which Winter interweaves the history of the temple complex of Angkor, its 'rediscovery', 'scientific' conservation, interpretation, and presentation (or 'the freezing of tradition' in monumental, tangible form), with the post-independence political, commercial and developmental use of the site. The post-independence deployment of Angkor as a national resource and a commodity to be consumed has also obviously served to exert intense pressures on it. The construction of the image of Angkor turned on its discovery by the French as a jungle-covered ruin in the mid 19th century which in turn, for the colonial power, came to represent the birth, growth and death of a sophisticated and forgotten ancient civilisation. The French responsibility was then to claim and recover this lost classical culture, and preserve and conserve it for posterity, as well as to reconstruct and revive the Khmer 'nation' and its history. In the first three

decades of the 20th century the French project was directed to conservation but also to the zoning, landscaping and opening of the site to the tourist market. In this context Angkor was presented as a symbol of the exotic and mysterious Orient. Nevertheless, Winter argues that the conservationists, and more recently UNESCO, preoccupied with the protection of monumental remains, have acted to de-humanise history and landscape rather than see it as a living and meaningful cultural resource for local communities. In attempting to shield Angkor from the pressures of modernity, there has been a 're-imposition of Eurocentric understandings of place, culture, and history' (p. 47) and a failure until recently to come to terms with and plan for tourism development which has tended to be viewed as a threat and not an opportunity.

In his excursion into the politics and management of heritage and the contestation over the presentation, ownership of and access to an international tourism landscape (or 'touristscape'), Winter has to get to the heart of what Angkor means – what it means to Cambodians and to foreign tourists, to the Cambodian government, to those responsible for managing the site and to international conservation bodies. In this connection an intriguing part of the analysis is the way in which Winter brings the spectacle of Angkor into relationship with Pol Pot's 'killing fields', which, as with other arenas in which the capacity of humans to commit the most brutal acts against fellow humans, also become a site for the tourist gaze. For the foreign tourist therefore genocide, guerrilla warfare, landmines, political turmoil, and a hidden, jungle-covered terrain – in short the 'vision of a wild and hostile landscape' (p. 104) – jostle with images of the grandeur and antiquity of Angkor. In his interviews with both international and domestic tourists Winter reveals different interpretations and images of Angkor, with foreign tourists seeing it primarily

as a significant part of global heritage, as evidence of human cultural achievement, and as a place of intrigue, romance and mystery, whilst domestic tourists see the temple complex as a vital element in Cambodian national heritage, identity and history and as 'an active religious and leisured landscape' (p. 112). For the Cambodian government too with its focus on nation-building, development and reconstruction Angkor has a special meaning and intensity given that Pol Pot stripped Khmer and Cambodian identity of its historical and cultural anchors and destroyed the national economy. Therefore, as Winter amply and ably demonstrates the Angkor complex was destined to become 'an intense focal point for both the restoration of a glorious cultural past and the aspirations of an economically vibrant future' (p. 20); it has been deployed as 'a definitive icon of modernity and national progress' and 'as a symbolic resource of cultural, ethnic, and national power' (pp. 43, 45).

Winter has set a very high standard in providing us with a complex and incisive analysis of a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the ways in which it has been symbolically (and materially) constructed, and how it has become a focus for different, often competing constituencies, agendas and interests. Above all he examines in admirable detail and with a deft touch the tensions between an expanding national and international tourism industry and management policies preoccupied with conservation and protection rather than with the appropriate development of a living heritage.

MAUNG AUNG MYOE

Building the Tatmadaw: Myanmar Armed Forces since 1948

Singapore: ISEAS, 2009.

255 pp. ISBN 978-981-230-848-1,
pb S\$49.90/US\$39.90

Reviewed by Ashley South
Australian National University

This is an important resource book, although probably somewhat dry and technical for the non-specialist reader. Maung Aung Myoe constructs a very detailed portrait of the Burmese Armed Forces – the *Tatmadaw* – which have dominated the state and society since the late 1950s, and particularly following the military coup of 1962. To do so, the author has used a variety of sources, including the internet encyclopaedia, Wikipedia but does not assess the accuracy of such non-standard sources, which makes it difficult for the reader to judge the reliability of some of the data cited.

As well as describing the historical development of the *Tatmadaw*, the author provides detailed information regarding its military doctrine, organisation and force structure, armaments, various attempts at modernisation, military training, and finances. These chapters (and the appendices) are replete with useful information, much of it not easily available elsewhere.

Students of politics will of course be interested in the social, economic and political roles of the Burma Army (the wing which has long dominated the Armed Forces). Although Maung Aung Myoe addresses these issues, he does so within a limited framework. From the outset, his book is sympathetic to the Burmese military, its worldview and mission. The first sentence states that the *Tatmadaw* 'has been

crucial in restoring and maintaining law and order' in Myanmar. In certain respects, this is obviously true. However, such an assertion needs to be unpacked, inasmuch as it glosses over the military's role in dominating society, and brutally suppressing dissent. This said, it is certainly the case, as the author goes on to state, that the *Tatmadaw* 'is one of the most important institutions in Myanmar politics'. Therefore a detailed – if to this reviewer, overly sympathetic – account of its development and characteristics provided a welcome addition to the literature.

As might be expected from such a specialised text, the reading is sometimes heavy going. (In places, the book resembles a PhD dissertation, on which it is presumably based.) As such, it hardly bears comparison with the more fluent and sophisticated (and critically self-aware) treatment of the subject provided in numerous publications by Andrew Selth – generally regarded as the most authoritative scholar of the *Tatmadaw*.

One of Maung Aung Myoe's main themes is that the *Tatmadaw* has developed from an army focused primarily on civil war fighting (and expelling Kuomintang foreign invasion, in the 1950s), towards a greater emphasis on external security. This transformation from counter-insurgency to a conventional armed forces explains most aspects of *Tatmadaw* modernisation over the past two decades (since the military coup which suppressed the 1988 'democracy uprising').

Without being drawn conclusively on the *Tatmadaw*'s troop strength, Maung Aung Myoe suggests the number is approximately 350,000. In an unfortunately rare example of slick phrasing, he suggests that 'while most of the countries in the Southeast Asia region have transformed their Armed Forces into meaner and leaner forces, Myanmar is probably the

only country where only the "meaner" bit is applicable, but not the "leaner"' (p. 201).

The book is particularly interesting when detailing the *Tatmadaw*'s counter-insurgency strategy and tactics since the 1960s. Numerous authors have examined the Burma Army's – highly successful – 'Four Cuts' campaigns, directed against Communist (until 1989) and ethnic-nationalist insurgents. Maung Aung Myoe examines the strategy of 'denying the water to the fish' from the perspective of the *Tatmadaw*. Unfortunately, the author has little to say regarding one of the most significant aspects of the *Tatmadaw*'s counter-insurgency strategy: the series of ceasefires agreed between the military government and various armed ethnic groups, since 1989.

The book is notable for its emphasis on the *Tatmadaw*'s efforts to penetrate and mobilise social groups in Burma – for example, by enrolling rural communities in various militias. He demonstrates that, far from being a novel enterprise undertaken by the current SLORC-SPDC regime, this approach has characterised military regimes in Burma since the early 1960s. This leads into a useful discussion of the *Tatmadaw*'s role in patronising the pro-government Union Solidarity Development Association, which many observers expect to morph into a political party, in order to represent military interests in the forthcoming elections.

Maung Aung Myoe also touches upon the paranoia which has characterised military rule in Burma, since the time of General Ne Win. Coupling his analysis in terms of 'threat perception', he points out how xenophobia (often fuelled by the rhetoric of foreign powers) has helped to 'strengthen the siege mentality of the *Tatmadaw* commanders' (p. 33).

The book is largely silent on recent controversies regarding whether and how the *Tatmadaw* has sought to develop a nuclear capability. Likewise, it has little to say on the question of Chinese 'listening stations' in the country. Intriguingly however, the author does suggest that 'the *Tatmadaw* will be engaging any foreign aggression with guerrilla warfare and *tunnel warfare* if strategic denial fails' (p. 39 - emphasis added).

Another controversial area addressed by the book is that of splits within the *Tatmadaw* leadership. The issue is first raised in the context of General Ne Win's assumption of command in 1949, and purging of the original (Karen-dominated, so-called 'Rightist') leadership inherited by the *Tatmadaw*, at the time of independence. The most significant recent episode involves the purge of ex-Military Intelligence chief (and Prime Minister), General Khin Nyunt, in October 2004. Maung Aung Myoe devotes some attention to the fall of Khin Nyunt, and also has interesting things to say about the tensions within the *Tatmadaw* between field commanders and headquarters.

Several of the later chapters, on military force structures, armaments and training are extremely detailed, and thus likely to be of interest to a limited number of specialists. Nevertheless, there are some interesting asides regarding the nature of corruption within the *Tatmadaw*, and the question of whether this institution is capable of implementing good governance in Burma/Myanmar.

Regarding the finances of the *Tatmadaw* and military government, the author notes that 'any attempt to calculate Myanmar defence expenditure is fraught with peril' (p. 163). He nevertheless attempts an overview, which is particularly valuable in its account of the *Tatmadaw's* very considerable economic activities and interests. This is a topic of particular relevance, given the military

government's current rash of 'privatisations', under which state assets have been transferred to private hands, in the run-up to planned elections. The author notes that 'what will eventually determine the future of the *Tatmadaw's* business is the ability of the *Tatmadaw's* leadership to maintain institutional cohesion within the military and to influence the political process in Myanmar' (p. 190).

The author questions whether the *Tatmadaw* will be able to pursue its doctrine of 'People's War, under modern conditions', without 'the vitality of the support of the people' (p. 197). However, he does not take the opportunity to further investigate the nature of legitimacy in modern Burma, and whether/how the *Tatmadaw* is able to generate this. He does however, provide an interesting discussion of the manner in which the *Tatmadaw* is dominated by ethnic Burman Buddhists, and the exclusion of non-Burmans and Christians (or for that matter, Muslims) from its senior ranks.

Unfortunately, Maung Aung Myoe largely fails to engage with the well-documented fact that the *Tatmadaw* is an agent of – often brutal – suppression in the country which it is supposed to protect. *Building the Tatmadaw* is nevertheless an important contribution to the relatively sparse literature on an institution which is likely to dominate state and society in Burma/Myanmar for some time to come. It would be even more useful, if the author was able to reflect critically on his sources.

LILY ZUBAIDAH RAHIM

Singapore in the Malay world: building and breaching regional bridges

Abingdon: Routledge, 2009

230 pp. ISBN 978-0-415-48410-7, hb £72

Reviewed by P.J. Thum
University of Oxford

In her first book *The Singapore dilemma: the political and educational marginality of the Malay community*, Prof Lily Zubaidah Rahim explained the continuing economic, educational, and political marginalisation of the Singapore Malay community. In this book, she takes her work to the next logical step, by turning her view outwards towards *Nusantara*, the Malay world. She asks how Singapore's internal relationship between the Chinese-dominated political elite and the Malay community affects its external position in the Malay world.

Rahim takes a flexible approach to her analysis, not getting tied down in any particular theoretical framework. She sets the table by looking at the role of Malays and Malay culture in Singapore's dominant historical and political narratives. On this basis, she compares the competing nation-building paradigms of Singapore and Malaysia, detailing how the two paradigms are, in fact, mirror images of each other. This is followed by studies of the security and economic aspects of Singapore's regional position (mainly with Malaysia). The last part of her analysis focuses on the Singapore-Indonesia relationship. Her writing throughout is well reasoned, convincing, and extremely readable. It makes clear the complex, multidimensional aspects of Singapore's relationships with its two biggest neighbours.

Yet one is left with the feeling that the title is somewhat of a misnomer. The majority of Rahim's work deals almost solely with Singapore's bilateral relationship with Malaysia. In many ways, this is necessary – Singapore's historical, economic, and cultural links with Malaysia mean that the state looms largest in Singapore's foreign policy. Yet a work entitled 'Singapore in the Malay world' promises a multilateral, regional approach and this book fails to deliver on that promise. Three chapters dominated by Kuala Lumpur and one exclusively devoted to Jakarta sell the Malay world short. Rahim, in an endnote, explains *Nusantara* as 'a trans-archipelagic term that corresponds historically to the Indonesian and Malay sphere of influence'. Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, southern Philippines, and southern Thailand all fall in this sphere. However, south Thailand, Brunei, Borneo, eastern Indonesia, Timor-Leste, and the Philippines are absent or referred to only in passing in Rahim's work. With few exceptions, Rahim's work is focused on bilateral relations, leaving open the interesting question of how exactly Singapore has affected Kuala Lumpur-Jakarta relations. Exploring Singapore's position using a multilateral approach would have produced a much more fruitful and exciting study.

Correspondingly, the chapters themselves lack any narrative unity, feeling too much like a collection of separate essays rather than a comprehensive work. In particular, the Indonesia chapter bears little link to the rest of the book, and it is left to the conclusion to draw out tentative threads in an attempt to tie the book together.

This compartmentalisation is further underlined by the difference in her approaches to Singapore-Malaysia and Singapore-Indonesia relations. Singapore-Malaysia is dealt with on cultural, political, and economic grounds, but the Singapore-Indonesia analysis is largely

driven by the personal relationship between the two governments, and in particular between Lee Kuan Yew and Suharto. The lack of a strong cultural dimension to Singapore's relations with Indonesia poses a challenge to assumptions about the Malay world and how it is perceived by its members. However, the chapter on Indonesia is the best chapter precisely because it is much more narrowly focused on more conventional politics and in particular the relationship between Suharto and Lee Kuan Yew.

The politicisation and contestation of culture is one of the central themes of this book. Rahim's depth of knowledge and familiarity with Malay culture, its complicated relationship with politics on both sides of the causeway, and the marginalisation and discrimination faced by the Malay community in Singapore, shine through. She marshals her facts on Malay culture and perspective well and writes confidently and convincingly. The same cannot be said about her attempts to break down the PAP's attempt at the sinicisation of Singapore. It fails to capture the diversity of Singapore's Chinese community, or its schizophrenic attitude towards Chinese culture and language: simultaneously proud of its heritage, frustrated by the alien tongue of mandarin, and fearful of dominance from China, an alien land to second and third generation Chinese Singaporeans. She occasionally repeats unsubstantiated stereotypes about Chinese attitudes and beliefs. She also perhaps overstates the extent to which the rest of the PAP leadership buy into Lee Kuan Yew's beliefs on sinicisation when she predicts a new Chinese cultural elite poised to takeover leadership of the country. English educated, western oriented leaders continue to dominant the PAP's upper echelons and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

The problem is, of course, that she is unable to access the Chinese community's worldview. Her sources, bar three interviews with

Malaysian politicians, are entirely secondary, and generally in English. This no doubt reflects the paucity of work from Malaysian and Singaporean Chinese-speaking academics available in English, but it also suggests the limitations of Rahim's skillset.

In her introduction, she sets to explore Singapore's external relations from a historical, multidisciplinary, regional perspective. What she has achieved is an excellent study of Singapore's bilateral relations with its two closest neighbours using a variety of political approaches, with a specific focus on the mindset of a few select leaders, and from a top-down perspective. This book will be extremely valuable to anyone seeking to better understand Singapore's foreign policy, but we will have to wait for a work which truly embeds Singapore in *Nusantara*.

LIM TECK GHEE, ALBERTO GOMES & AZLY RAHMAN, EDS.
Multiethnic Malaysia: past, present and future
 Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre (SIRD) ;
 Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia Institute of Development and Asian Studies (MiDAS) at UCSI University, 2009.
 xxv, 530pp. ISBN 978-983-3782-78-9, (pb) ; 978-983-3782-81-9 (hb).

**Reviewed by V.T. King
 University of Leeds**

If it's a book on Malaysia then it's very probably going to say something about ethnicity and identity. *Multiethnic Malaysia* says a lot about ethnicity: it's a mammoth undertaking with 25 chapters, a brief editorial introduction, and introductions to the five sections of the book. The contributors comprise some of Malaysia's senior historians and social scientists and a sprinkling of rising stars. Indeed the list of

contributors and their achievements reads like a 'Who's Who' of the Malaysian Academy.

The editors have an agenda; they wish to inform, engage and provoke. As the sub-title of the book suggests, not only do they wish to take stock of what has happened and been happening to the 'distinct ethnic, religious and cultural communities' in the country from the pre-colonial period onwards, but also to address the current status of identities and inter-ethnic relations, and then to hazard what the future might and, more pertinently from the majority view of the contributors, should hold for Malaysia. More particularly the book presents an alternative prospectus or manifesto (or in the words of the editors a "counter-hegemonic" body of writing') to that which is referred to as 'the dominant body of knowledge and curriculum found in the official or government-sanctioned view of Malaysian history and society' (p. 1). Clearly one development which has prompted this volume is the Malaysian government's relatively recent move to introduce a compulsory module on ethnic studies into the curricula of local universities. This state-directed and -supported move invites considerable criticism from the editors.

In the spirit of opening up wide-ranging debates on ethnicity in Malaysia Lim, Gomes and Azly Rahman also state firmly that they have wanted to encourage the presentation of 'a diversity of views and perspectives'. In seeking to do this, when they approached potential contributors they gave them a relatively broad remit and left them to decide what issues and events should be given due attention and what analytical and political perspectives should be adopted in attempting to understand the origins, development, trajectory and character of ethnic relations in Malaysia. Although they conclude that they have been unable 'to find common ground on these vital events and processes', the editors

also hope that the collection of essays will stimulate open and free discussion and debate among young Malaysians. Despite differences of view the book is concerned to promote ethnic unity and common purpose rather than demarcation, division and segregation, to encourage an open and democratic approach to instruction and learning rather than a closed and controlled one, and to promote a liberal, multicultural approach to cultural diversity rather than a 'backward-looking and chauvinistic' one (p. 4). The editors and those contributors who examine the current situation and future prospects for the country speak with passion and conviction about the need 'to change the present in order to build a better future' for Malaysia (p. 4).

The book is divided into five parts: (1) Historical Roots of Identity in Malaysia (with chapters by Khoo Kay Kim, Cheah Boon Kheng, Ariffin Omar, Lee Kam Hing and Sheila Nair); (2) Politics, Economics, Culture and Identity (P. Ramasamy, Maznah Mohamad, John Saravanamuttu, Edmund Terence Gomez and Alberto Gomes); (3) Education, Culture and Identity (Lee Hock Guan, Lim Teck Ghee and Alberto Gomes, Zainah Anwar, Syed Husin Ali and Azly Rahman); (4) Marginalised Communities, Marginalised Identities (Alberto Gomes, Shanthi Thambiah, Zawawi Ibrahim, S. Nagarajan, Diana Wong and Wazir Jahan Karim); and (5) Future Prospects: Azly Rahman, Ooi Kee Beng, Ong Puay Liu and Lim Teck Ghee. Some of the interesting sub-themes addressed in the collection include the debates between 'primordialists' and 'constructivists'; the processes and factors underlying assimilation, accommodation and ethnic integration and separation; the politics of race and communal consciousness; the relations between ethnicity and national identity, and processes of social engineering; the political economy of identity; the interactions between class and identity and the politics of the middle class; language, education and identity; the

construction of minorities; and the issue of immigrant labour.

There is much in this volume that will be very familiar to Malaysia-watchers, but there is much that is also empirically new. In my view it realises what the editors desire for it.

Multiethnic Malaysia presents a collection of critical and reflexive essays on those issues which lie at the heart of the modern nation-state of Malaysia and it sets out, in broad outline at least, what must be addressed and debated if Malaysia is to continue to develop and prosper and its citizens to live in peace and harmony in a multicultural society.